

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 SAJ-01 AID-05 MC-02

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 COME-00 OES-06

ARA-06 OMB-01 /102 W

----- 116470

R 131230Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4899

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0909

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGEN, PFOR, EAID, MZ, UR, CH, CU

SUBJECT: MOZAMBIQUE ASSESSMENT (6): RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNISTS

REF: MAPUTO 0866 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: FRELIMO'S RELATIONS WITH COUMUNIST COUNTRIES DATE BACK TO THE EARLY SIXTIES. DURING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE CHINESE PROVIDED ARMS, MILITARY INSTRUCTORS AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR FRELIMO, WHILE THE RUSSIANS PROVIDED A LESSER AMOUNT OF WEAPONS, POLITICAL, MEDICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING ASSISTANCE. THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE
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(GPRM) CONTINUES TO LOOK TO THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AS

THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF ARMS, ADVISORY PERSONNEL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. FRELIMO'S STRONG IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY WITH THE COMMUNISTS IS CLEARLY REFLECTED IN GPRM POLICIES AND STATEMENTS AS WELL AS IN THE PRO-COMMUNIST (AND ANTI-WESTERN) BIAS IN THE MEDIA. MOZAMBIQUE'S CONSTITUTION BOLDLY DECLARES THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES TO BE MOZAMBIQUE'S "NATURAL ALLIES". FOR THE MOMENT, THE SOVIETS RATHER THAN THE CHINESE ARE IN THE ASCENDANCY. WE BELIEVE PRESIDENT MACHEL WILL STOP SHORT OF GRANTING THE SOVIETS MILITARY BASES IN MOZAMBIQUE.

2. SOVIET UNION: CURRENTLY THE USSR IS PRIMUS INTER PARES AMONG THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH FRELIMO RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE USSR DURING ITS TEN YEAR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE, SOVIET INFLUENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE WAS NOT AS GREAT AS THAT OF THE CHINESE. HOWEVER, MASSIVE SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO THE MPLA COUPLED WITH THE PRC'S AMBIVALENCE DURING THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR PROVIDED THE SOVIETS WITH AN OPPORTUNITY IN MOZAMBIQUE WHICH THEY WERE QUICK TO SEIZE. IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS, THE USSR HAS

-- SIGNED ECONOMIC AND COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH THE GPRM COVERING FISHING, SHIPPING, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, AVIATION, TRADE AND CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES;

-- SUPPLIED TECHNICIANS, DOCTORS, HARBOR PILOTS AND POSSIBLY MILITARY ADVISORS TO THE GPRM;

-- INAUGURATED A WEEKLY AEROFLOT FLIGHT BETWEEN MAPUTO AND MOSCOW;

-- ESTABLISHED TASS AND NOVOSTI NEWS SERVICE OFFICES IN MOZAMBIQUE;

-- HOSTED SEVERAL GPRM DELEGATIONS.

3. PRESIDENT MACHEL'S LONG-POSTPONED STATE VISIT TO
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THE SOVIET UNION IN MAY PROVIDED AMPLE EVIDENCE OF THE CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED BY PRESIDENT MACHEL AND SOVIET PARTY CHIEF BREZHNEV STATED THAT USSR-MOZAMBIQUE RELATIONS WERE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF "REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY", CALLED FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" STRUGGLE IN AFRICA, STRONGLY CRITICIZED RHODESIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE AND DECLARED THAT THE USSR WOULD

PROVIDE THE MEANS TO STRENGTHEN MOZAMBIQUE'S "DEFENSE CAPABILITIES". WE BELIEVE THIS LATTER AGREEMENT WILL LEAD TO AN INCREASE IN SUPPLY OF MORE SOPHISTICATED ARMS.

4. WHAT, IF ANY, BILATERAL ADVANTAGE THE SOVIETS MAY HOPE TO RECEIVE IN RETURN FOR THEIR LARGESSE IS STILL UNCLEAR. SHORTLY AFTER INDEPENDENCE, THERE WERE REPORTS THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE SEEKING PERMISSION TO USE MOZAMBIQUE'S PORTS FOR THEIR NAVY AND THAT THIS REQUEST HAD BEEN REJECTED. WHETHER THERE WAS ANY TRUTH TO THESE REPORTS WE DO NOT KNOW. WHILE PRESIDENT MACHEL IS APPRECIATIVE OF SOVIET ASSISTANCE AND IS NOT AVERSE TO BEING IDENTIFIED WITH THEM, WE BELIEVE HE WILL STOP SHORT OF GRANTING THE SOVIETS A MILITARY BASE IN MOZAMBIQUE.

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AMEMBASSY MBABANE

ZEM/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

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5. THE PRC: CHINESE INFLUENCE WITH FRELIMO WAS AT ITS PEAK TWELVE MONTHS AGO, FOLLOWING THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE VISIT OF MACHEL TO PEKING. IN RECOGNITION OF ITS PREVIOUS SUPPORT, THE PRC AMBASSADOR WAS THE FIRST COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO BE ACCREDITED TO MOZAMBIQUE. THE CHINESE ALSO MOVED QUICKLY TO GRANT MOZAMBIQUE A SOFT LOAN WORTH \$56 MILLION (WHICH TO OUR KNOWLEDGE HAS NOT BEEN DRAWN ON) AND TO DISPATCH A 50-MAN MILITARY ADVISORY TEAM TO TRAIN MEMBERS OF MOZAMBIQUE'S NEW NATIONAL ARMY. HOWEVER, THESE INITIAL ADVANTAGES WERE OFFSET BY PEKING'S EARLY SUPPORT FOR THE FNLA AND ITS RELUCTANCE LATER TO SUPPORT THE MPLA IN ANGOLA. THE CHINESE ARE NEVERTHELESS STILL VERY ACTIVE IN MO-
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ZAMBIQUE AND ARE PROVIDING DOCTORS AND AGRICULTURAL TECHNICIANS IN ADDITION TO MILITARY ADVISORS.

6. OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: OF THE SMALLER COMMUNIST POWERS, SUPPORT FROM THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (GDR) HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPRESSIVE AND WIDE RANGING. THE GDR IS SUPPLYING DOCTORS, ADVISORS AND TECHNICIANS TO THE MINISTRIES OF AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, HEALTH, INFORMATION AND INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE AND IS REPORTEDLY ASSISTING THE LOCAL SECURITY SERVICE. IN ADDITION, THE GDR HAS BEEN ONE OF THE FEW COUNTRIES SINCE INDEPENDENCE WHERE MOZAMBICANS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO GO FOR SHORT TERM COURSES. THE BULGARIANS, PROBABLY ACTING AS SURROGATES FOR THE SOVIET UNION IN SOME AREAS, ARE PROVIDING AGRICULTURAL TECHNICIANS AND UNIVERSITY LECTURERS. THE NORTH KOREANS HAVE DEVOTED THE BULK OF THEIR EFFORT HERE TO DEVELOPING TIES OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE DPRK AND MOZAMBIQUE, DRUMMINL UP INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION ON THE KOREAN ISSUE AND BLASTING THE WEST IN GENERAL AND THE US IN PARTICULAR AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. THEY HAVE ALSO BROUGHT IN A DOZEN MEDICAL ADVISORS AND AN AGRICULTURAL TEAM WHICH IS WORKING THE NORTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY. YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA HAVE DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS HERE, BUT THEIR ACTIVITY HAS BEEN FAIRLY LOW KEY, ALTHOUGH THE ROMANIANS HAVE RECENTLY CONCLUDED AM ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT.

7. CUBA: DURING MOZAMBIQUE'S FIRST YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE THE CUBANS DID NOT HAVE A DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN MOZAMBIQUE. CUBAN-MOZAMBIQUE RELATIONS WERE GIVEN A STRONG BOOST AFTER HAVANA'S INTERVENTION ON THE SIDE OF THE MPLA, AND A CUBAN AMBASSADOR WAS ACCREDITED IN JULY 1976 AND A

SIX-MAN EMBASSY HAS BEEN OPENED. CUBA HAS ALSO SUPPLIED AN ESTIMATED 200 MILITARY AND AGRICULTURAL ADVISORS. THE MILITARY ADVISORS ARE BELIEVED TO BE TRAINING BOTH THE MOZAMBICAN ARMY AND THE ZIMBABWEAN GUERILLAS.

8. GPRM INDEPENDENCE: THE GPRM ATTEMPTS TO STEER A NEUTRAL COURSE BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNIST SUPER POWERS AND TO SET ITS OWN PRIORITIES AND POLICIES. THE GPRM
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HAS INDICATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT IT DOES NOT WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN THE IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION. GPRM SPOKESMEN HAVE ALSO ISSUED PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WARNINGS TO COMMUNIST DIPLOMATS HERE THAT DESPITE PAST ASSISTANCE AND GRATITUDE, THE GPRM WILL DEVISE ITS OWN POLICIES AND WILL NOT BE PRESSURED OR DICTATED TO ON ANY ISSUES CONTRARY TO WHAT MOZAMBIQUE PERCEIVES TO BE ITS OWN INTERESTS FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO MADE THIS POINT BEFORE THE ENTIRE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AT THE NOVEMBER 1975 SOVIET NATIONAL DAY FETE. WE BELIEVE CHISSANO'S STATEMENT EXPRESSES MOZAMBIQUE'S DETERMINATION TO RETAIN ITS FREEDOM OF ACTION WITHIN THE SOCIALIST CAMP.
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